



**SUBMISSION BY THE YOUNG WORKERS
CENTRE TO THE VICTORIAN INQUIRY INTO
THE LABOUR HIRE INDUSTRY AND
INSECURE WORK**

CONTACT

Keelia Fitzpatrick

Coordinator, Young Workers Centre

E: kfitzpatrick@vthc.org.au

M: 0421 576 481

ABOUT THE YOUNG WORKERS CENTRE

The Young Workers Centre educates young workers about their safety and workplace rights, and empowers them to resolve issues in the workplace.

Based in Trades Hall, we educate young people as they enter the workforce via our training programs. These are available to all Victorian high schools, TAFEs and technical colleges. We assist young people to resolve workplace issues through our legal service designed exclusively for young workers. We empower young people to use their collective voice by driving campaigns on key issues for young people at work.

OUR VISION

A state in which young people are safe at work, do not suffer harassment or bullying, and are provided their legal entitlements. For this vision to be realised, we must encourage young people to speak up without fear and join with other young workers to make change and improve their workplaces and communities.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Young Workers Centre welcomes this opportunity to make a submission to the Inquiry into Labour Hire and Insecure Work. We are encouraged that the Victorian Government sees addressing the rise in insecure work as a priority, and look forward to working with the Victorian Government to take action to reverse this trend. With experts estimating 40% of Australians are in some form of insecure work¹, there is an urgent need to address the forms of employment and work that have caused this epidemic inequity.

The Young Workers Centre educates, represents and campaigns with working people under 30, and accordingly this submission addresses the growth of insecure work and its impact on young people. We draw on personal stories of insecure work young people have shared with us through an online submission tool for the purpose of this inquiry, anecdotal evidence young people have shared with us via our rights at work training program and other published longitudinal studies of young people. These personal stories, quoted throughout this submission, highlight the plight of vulnerable young workers who face growing financial insecurity and harm to their wellbeing as a result of insecure work.

Stories from young workers show insecurity comes in many forms. Some young people are required to become independent contractors instead of being employed directly, allowing employers to avoid paying employee entitlements such as superannuation, workers' compensation and leave². Some work off-the-books in the black economy (commonly referred to as "cash in hand") for below-award rates while missing out on entitlements such as penalty rates, superannuation and annual leave³. Some young people experience insecurity as they embark on their careers, such as graduate teachers who are faced with rolling contracts instead of permanent full time work⁴. Young migrant workers experience insecurity through systematic underpayments that affect entire industries, leaving them without alternative options⁵.

These stories and experiences have a common thread: employers are shirking responsibilities to provide employment-related entitlements and protections by shifting the responsibility onto employees, or removing those entitlements and protections from the equation. These forms of work entrench and worsen the inherent imbalance in power between employer and employee and cut job security for working people.

¹ Australian Council of Trade Unions. (2012). *Lives on Hold*. <http://www.actu.org.au/media/609158/lives-on-hold-final.pdf>

² Australian Government. *Unfair contracts and sham contracts*. <http://www.business.gov.au/business-topics/business-structures-and-types/independent-contractors/Pages/unfair-contracts-and-sham-contracts.aspx>

³ Essential Media Communications. (2012). *Cash in Hand Research*. <http://www.actu.org.au/media/111161/Cash-in-hand%20research-Sept%202012.pdf>

⁴ Australian Education Union. (2014). *More teachers than ever on contract*. http://www.aeuvic.asn.au/604195_11_78689052.html

⁵ Meldrum-Hanna, C. & Ali Russell, A. (2015, May 4). *Four Corners: Slaving Away*. Australian Broadcasting Corporation. <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2015/05/04/4227055.htm>

Despite insecure work affecting people of all ages, young people make up a disproportionately high number of people in insecure employment. Young people are more vulnerable due to their inexperience in the workforce and lower levels of knowledge of their workplace rights and entitlements. When starting out in the workforce or early in their careers, they often have little choice but to take up whatever employment opportunities and conditions are offered. For example the hospitality and retail industries exist off the backs of young people working long, irregular, unsociable hours where casual contracts and working-off-the-books are normalised.

This submission addresses:

- How employment arrangements such as casual, fixed-term contracts, independent contracting, labour hire and employment off-the-books are adversely affecting young people
- The overrepresentation of young workers (including young Indigenous people) in insecure work
- The impact insecure work has on young peoples' studies, financial security, social relationships and general wellbeing
- The systematic exploitation of young migrant workers including international students, those on working holidays and those working on 457 visas
- The normalisation of unpaid work such as unpaid internships that has occurred alongside the normalisation of insecure work
- The misconception in public conversation that young workers do not want or value job and financial security, a view that is put forward by employer groups and others

For further discussion of the prevalence of insecure work, please refer to the Victorian Trades Hall Council submission.

INSECURE WORK: WHAT DOES IT LOOK LIKE?

The Australian Council of Trade Unions report from the Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work *Lives on Hold* defines insecure work as **poor quality work that provides people with little economic security and little control over their working lives.**

Insecure work is most often associated with non-permanent forms of employment like casual work, fixed-term contracts, independent contracting and labour hire – all of which are growing⁶. The Young Workers Centre also considers working off-the-books and unpaid work (such as unpaid internships) as forms of insecure work.

Characteristics

- unpredictable and fluctuating pay
- inferior rights and entitlements
- limited or no access to paid leave
- irregular and unpredictable working hours
- lack of security and/or uncertainty over the length of the job
- lack of any say at work over wages, conditions and work organisation.

THE EFFECTS OF INSECURE WORK

Young working people bear the brunt of increased labour market insecurity. One third of jobs created in Australia over the past 25 years are less secure, meaning they are temporary, part-time or force self-employment⁷. Industries and jobs that have been affected include:

- Teaching; where two-thirds of new Victorian government school teachers in their first five years of teaching are on short-term contracts⁸
- Retail; where the extension and fluctuation of retail trading hours across the week has led to the massive and normalised casualisation of the industry⁹
- Hospitality; where a culture of working off-the-books has resulted in chronic underpayment of wages and a disregard for minimum legal standards such as paid breaks¹⁰
- Distribution & warehousing; where temporary work through labour hire companies has become the only employment opportunity for many workers¹¹

⁶ Australian Council of Trade Unions.

⁷ Foundation for Young Australians (2015). *The New Work Order*. <http://www.fya.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/fya-future-of-work-report-final-lr.pdf>

⁸ Australian Education Union.

⁹ Shop, Distributive and Allied Employees' Association (2011). *Submission to the Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia*. <http://www.actu.org.au/media/349598/sda.pdf>

¹⁰ Lucas, C. & Whyte, S. (2013, January 26). *Serving Up Inequality*. *The Age*. <http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/serving-up-inequality-20130125-2dbyy.html>

¹¹ National Union of Workers (2015). *Submission to the Productivity Commission's Workplace Relations Framework* http://www.pc.gov.au/___data/assets/pdf_file/0004/187933/sub0125-workplace-relations.pdf

"I was contracting with an ABN...in my current job. They can send me an email at 5pm saying "this has to be done by tomorrow morning" and I just have to drop anything to do the work because I don't get enough hours. I get so little hours I'm still technically unemployed and collecting Newstart, so dealing with Centrelink and an uncertain amount of work hours per week leaves me extremely vulnerable if there's a problem with one or the other." – Michael

These examples illustrate practices where casual or contract work is used to replace rather than supplement ongoing workforces, where business structures are designed to offload responsibility for employment-related protections and entitlements on to employees, and where employers choose to flout laws by working outside them in the black economy.

Young people are more likely to be employed casually, work irregular hours and be without paid leave entitlements. Over half of 15-19 year olds and one-third of 20-24 year olds are employed in casual employment, in contrast with 18% of those aged 25 and older¹². The same insecurity is reflected in the proportion of young people working irregular hours, with 7 in 10 working weekends, evening or night shift work¹³. Young people are also less likely to have access to paid leave entitlements. Only 28% of 15-19 year olds and 60% of 20-24 year olds receive paid leave entitlements, compared with 82% for the population aged 25 and over¹⁴.

The spread of insecure work through industries means that too many young people now regard these irregular working conditions as normal. More people are forced to work without the security of regular, predictable hours and a regular, reliable pay. While we recognise there is a place for some casual or short term work, it is vital that insecure work is not normalised for a generation of young people. The impact of insecure work on students, graduates and young professionals, young working visa holders and young Indigenous people are examined below.

RECOMMENDATION 1

The Victorian Government acknowledge that casual and contract work is used to replace ongoing workforces, that employers are designing business structures to avoid their employment-related responsibilities, and that due to their vulnerability, young people are overrepresented in the insecure work that is caused by these practices.

¹² Foundation for Young Australians (2015). *How Young People are Faring in the Transition from School to Work*. http://unlimitedpotential.fya.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/HYPAF-NCVER-report-9Nov2015_Final-for-web.pdf

¹³ Crofts, J., Cuervo, H., Wyn, J., Smith, G. & Woodman, D. (2015). *Life Patterns: Ten years following Generation Y*. http://education.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/1624532/LifePatterns_10YearFollowingGenY_FINAL_webversion.pdf

¹⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2015). *Characteristics of Employment, Australia, August 2014* (No. 6333.0, Tables 2 & 3), <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6333.0August%202014?OpenDocument>

STUDENTS

Many young people are trying to balance their paid employment with study, with one longitudinal study showing 67% of young people aged 18-20 were mixing study with paid employment¹⁵. The effects of mixing study with variable hours in an already precarious labour market mean that many young people have little control over their schedules. The same study showed young people found it difficult to find regular periods of shared time to maintain close friendships and to build new acquaintances into deeper friendships.

"I go and hang out with my friends... I don't see [them] much because they work full time and I'm at university full time, then I work weekends, they have weekends off. I try and hang out with them a bit if I can, that's about it really" - Marissa

GRADUATES AND YOUNG PROFESSIONALS

The transition from study to work is getting longer. Young people are finding it harder to access full-time work, even after graduating from higher education. Reports show it takes young people 4.7 years from leaving full-time education to entering full-time work (compared with around one year in 1986)¹⁶. For example, research has revealed two-thirds of new teachers in Victorian Government schools are on short-term contracts in their first five years, almost 10% more than the previous year. Only half saw themselves teaching for more than a decade, many citing job insecurity as the factor driving them out of the profession¹⁷. Insecure work can also have a significant impact on mental health. The stress, anxiety and depression caused by financial insecurity (or the threat of it) takes a huge toll on workers in short term or rolling contracts.

"I was on a rolling contract in my current job. [I have] stress and anxiety about having to reapply and interview to continue in my current role. I feel undervalued by the process and am very concerned about not having secure work as I am a single parent. The stress it causes to have to reapply for your position, as well as having no job security is difficult. Teachers are forced to write reports and take on extra work at the end of the year and added to their stress is having to apply for work." - Kathryn

¹⁵ Woodman, D. (2012). Life out of Synch: How New Patterns of Further Education and the Rise of Precarious Employment Are Reshaping Young People's Relationships. *Sociology*, 46(6), 1074-1090.

¹⁶ Foundation for Young Australians (2015). *How Young People are Faring in the Transition from School to Work*.

¹⁷ Australian Education Union.

RECOMMENDATION 2

The Victorian Government take action to investigate and address the effects of insecure work on the mental health of young Victorians. Youth mental health strategies should include this as a central priority.

RECOMMENDATION 3

The Victorian Government supports young graduates across study fields by expanding graduate programs in government departments to provide graduate work to a greater number of students. Permanent employment should be made available to young people who complete government graduate programs.

RECOMMENDATION 4

That the Victorian Government acknowledges the key role it plays in setting a standard of best practice regarding reducing the prevalence of insecure work through its own employment practices across the public service, including teaching, and health and community services. The Victorian Government should commit to the phasing out of insecure work across its public services.

RECOMMENDATION 5

That the Victorian Government stipulates best practice from companies and not-for-profit organisations seeking government work through the contract tendering process. The Victorian Government should recognise the flow-on impact of short-term contracts for government work results in short-term contracts for those workers. The Victorian Government should commit to the phasing out of insecure work across its outsourced community services and other tendered contracts.

YOUNG MIGRANT WORKERS

In 2015 we have seen media attention focus on the rampant exploitation of young migrant workers in Australia by unscrupulous labour hire companies and through franchise structures that survive on the back of systematic underpayments to workers.

We have seen evidence of migrant worker exploitation by labour-hire companies in our fresh food picking and packing industry. Where young people on working holiday visas are subject to brutal working hours, degrading living conditions and the massive underpayment of wages¹⁸. We have

¹⁸ Meldrum-Hanna, C. & Ali Russell, A. (2015, May 4).

seen evidence of the same story for 7-Eleven workers, where systematic underpayments result in their predominantly international student workforce being paid approximately half the award rate¹⁹.

"I feel in the workforce I am [treated] somehow inferior to other local Australians. Even though I do have the legal student visa, I am entitled to some working rights. I was not treated as if I have those working rights. I didn't dare to speak up at the time as I had just got to Australia, as I didn't know what the situation was with employers." - Sunny

Exploitation of young migrant workers is rife: 80% of foreign language advertisements have been found to offer wages below legal rates. Many of them are openly advertised as "black jobs"²⁰. Whistle-blowers say it's common for migrant workers to be paid \$12-\$15 per hour, and in some cases as low as \$8 per hour²¹. To stop this exploitation it is imperative that young migrant workers are fully informed of their rights and entitlements while working in Australia, and have the opportunity to speak to the relevant union in their industry.

RECOMMENDATION 6

The Victorian Government make Victoria an exemplary working state by mandating workplace rights inductions for young migrant workers arriving in Victoria, facilitated by unions with other expert bodies and run through existing support structures such as the Study Melbourne Student Centre.

RECOMMENDATION 7

The Victorian Government commits to establishing a meaningful enforcement regime with penalties that have the effect of deterring unlawful practice and returning unpaid wages and entitlements to effected workers.

YOUNG INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Young Indigenous Australians are overrepresented in insecure work. Indigenous workers are more likely than non-Indigenous workers to be employed in 'low status' occupations and to be

¹⁹ Ferguson, A. & Toft, K. (2015, August 31). Four Corners: 7-Eleven: *The Price of Convenience*. Australian Broadcasting Corporation. <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2015/08/30/4301164.htm>

²⁰ Schneiders, B. & Millar, R. (2015, October 1). 'Black jobs': Rampant exploitation of foreign workers in Australia revealed. *The Age*. <http://www.theage.com.au/national/investigations/black-jobs-rampant-exploitation-of-foreign-workers-in-australia-revealed-20150930-gjxz7q.html>

²¹ *ibid*

more insecurely attached to the labour force²². Insecure work also leaves many with fewer hours work than they need to get by. One longitudinal study showed 59% of young Indigenous people wanted to work more hours compared with 31.7% of non-Indigenous people²³. The cycle of employment in 'low status' insecure jobs that do not provide enough hours of work to get by entrenches disadvantage for young Indigenous people.

UNPAID INTERNSHIPS

The widespread use of unpaid internships is an example of how new forms of insecure work impact people in the early stages of their working life. Studies and statistics on insecure work do not tend to include those who are working for no pay or less than minimum wage by completing unpaid internships. 86% of interns receive no pay or below minimum wage despite only 40% of internships being completed as part of education or training²⁴. These exploited young people are not currently recognised or accounted for in discussions around insecure work. The rise in unpaid internships is a result of the same inherent imbalance in power between employers and employees that has seen insecure work arrangements spread so widely. Unpaid work, specifically unpaid internships, should therefore be acknowledged and addressed as a new form of insecure work for young people.

In order to reduce the spread of these unjust employer practices, the Victorian Government must provide young people with the tools they need to enter the workforce: workplace safety and rights training.

RECOMMENDATION 8

The Victorian Government recognise that unpaid work such as unpaid internships are a form of insecure work for young people. It commits to ensuring its own employment and internship opportunities comply with relevant legislation, as well as those of companies and not-for-profit organisations seeking government work through the contract tendering process.

RECOMMENDATION 9

The Victorian Government establish mandatory safety and rights training for all 15-17 year olds, delivered by expanding the training capacity of the Young Workers Centre's existing collaborative programs with Worksafe.

²² Osborne, K., Baum, F. & Brown, L. (2013). What works? A review of actions addressing the social and economic determinants of Indigenous health. <http://www.aihw.gov.au/uploadedFiles/ClosingTheGap/Content/Publications/2013/ctgc-ip07.pdf>

²³ Foundation for Young Australians (2015). *How Young People are Faring in the Transition from School to Work*.

²⁴ Interns Australia (2015). *2015 Annual Survey*.

https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/internsaustralia/pages/136/attachments/original/1448771977/Interns_Australia_2015_Annual_Survey.pdf?1448771977

YOUNG PEOPLE SAY THEY WANT JOBS THEY CAN COUNT ON

For too long, public narrative around young people and work has been dominated by the notion that young people are happy to work irregular, unsociable hours. Some employer groups have argued that young people would be happy to take a pay cut for this irregular work through the removal of penalty rates they currently receive as compensation for working late nights and weekends²⁵.

However a longitudinal study of 'Generation Y' (generally defined as those born early 1980s to early 1990s) showed young people consistently and strongly valued secure work, with 60% of young people naming financial security as a top priority²⁶. The same study showed that although young people have strongly valued full-time secure work, it has been harder to obtain. Compared with previous generations, young people are less optimistic that they will be able to access a secure well-paid job. Many young people are now finding themselves in a situation of 'precarious' employment – a combination of low pay, employment insecurity and working time insecurity²⁷.

Rather than accepting what employers think young people want out of work, we must listen to young people themselves. We must acknowledge young people when they say they want and value secure work. We must acknowledge the failings that have led a generation to lose optimism that they can access such work. It is unacceptable that the current generation of young people are unable to access secure work when they seek it.

RECOMMENDATION 10

The Victorian Government recognise that young people want and value secure jobs. Secure, stable jobs and direct employment are critical for young people to get a decent start in life, and should therefore be made central priorities in employment policies.

RECOMMENDATION 11

The Victorian Government works with other states and territories and the Australian Federal Government to create more secure jobs for working people. This includes reducing the number of temporary, casual or short term contracts in favour of permanent stable jobs where possible. People working jobs that cannot be made permanent should be compensated for their insecure work through entitlements such as penalty rates for working unsociable hours.

²⁵ Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industries. (2015). Submission to the Productivity Commission Inquiry into the Workplace Relations Framework. https://www.acci.asn.au/sites/default/files/uploaded-content/field_f_content_file/productivity-commission-inquiry-into-the-workplace-relations-framework-acci-final-submission.pdf

²⁶ Crofts, J., Cuervo, H., Wyn, J., Smith, G. & Woodman, D.

²⁷ *ibid*

CONCLUSION

As insecure work becomes increasingly common for young people, it becomes accepted. Irregular work schedules and irregular pay will become normalised. If left unaddressed, the generational impact of insecure work will be a state where people are less safe at work, suffer greater financial stress, have lower quality relationships with friends and family and ultimately have less capacity to plan their lives. Those unable to escape the cycle of insecure work will be left behind, contributing to widening inequality in our society. In light of this we make the following recommendations.

WE RECOMMEND:

1. That the Victorian Government acknowledge that casual and contract work is used to replace ongoing workforces, that employers are designing business structures to avoid their employment-related responsibilities, and that due to their vulnerability, young people are overrepresented in the insecure work that is caused by these practices.
2. That the Victorian Government take action to investigate and address the effects of insecure work on the mental health of young Victorians. Youth mental health strategies should include this as a central priority.
3. That the Victorian Government supports young graduates across study fields by expanding graduate programs in government departments to provide graduate work to a greater number of students. Permanent employment should be made available to young people who complete government graduate programs.
4. That the Victorian Government acknowledges the key role it plays in setting a standard of best practice regarding reducing the prevalence of insecure work through its own employment practices across the public service, including teaching, and health and community services. The Victorian Government should commit to the phasing out of insecure work across its public services.
5. That the Victorian Government stipulates best practice from companies and not-for-profit organisations seeking government work through the contract tendering process. The Victorian Government should recognise the flow-on impact of short-term contracts for government work results in short-term contracts for those workers. The Victorian Government should commit to the phasing out of insecure work across its outsourced community services and other tendered contracts.
6. That the Victorian Government make Victoria an exemplary working state by mandating workplace rights inductions for young migrant workers arriving in Victoria, facilitated by unions with other expert bodies and run through existing support structures such as the Study Melbourne Student Centre.
7. That the Victorian Government commits to establishing a meaningful enforcement regime with penalties that have the effect of deterring unlawful practice and returning unpaid wages and entitlements to effected workers.

8. The Victorian Government recognise that unpaid work such as unpaid internships are a form of insecure work for young people. It commits to ensuring its own employment and internship opportunities comply with relevant legislation, as well as those of companies and not-for-profit organisations seeking government work through the contract tendering process.
9. That the Victorian Government establish mandatory safety and rights training for all 15-17 year olds, delivered by expanding the training capacity of the Young Workers Centre's existing collaborative programs with Worksafe.
10. That the Victorian Government recognise that young people want and value secure jobs. Secure, stable jobs and direct employment are critical for young people to get a decent start in life, and should therefore be made central priorities in youth employment policies.
11. That the Victorian Government works with other states and territories and the Australian Federal Government to create more secure jobs for working people. This includes reducing the number of temporary, casual or short term contracts in favour of permanent stable jobs where possible. People working jobs that cannot be made permanent should be compensated for their insecure work through entitlements such as penalty rates for working unsociable hours.

REFERENCES

- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2015). Characteristics of Employment, Australia, August 2014 (No. 6333.0, Tables 2 & 3), <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6333.0August%202014?OpenDocument>
- Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industries. (2015). Submission to the Productivity Commission Inquiry into the Workplace Relations Framework. https://www.acci.asn.au/sites/default/files/uploaded-content/field_f_content_file/productivity-commission-inquiry-into-the-workplace-relations-framework-acci-final-submission.pdf
- Australian Council of Trade Unions. (2012). *Lives on Hold*. <http://www.actu.org.au/media/609158/lives-on-hold-final.pdf>
- Australian Education Union. (2014). *More teachers than ever on contract*. http://www.aeuvic.asn.au/604195_11_78689052.html
- Australian Government. *Unfair contracts and sham contracts*. <http://www.business.gov.au/business-topics/business-structures-and-types/independent-contractors/Pages/unfair-contracts-and-sham-contracts.aspx>
- Crofts, J., Cuervo, H., Wyn, J., Smith, G. & Woodman, D. (2015). *Life Patterns: Ten years following Generation Y*. http://education.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/1624532/LifePatterns_10YearFollowingGenY_FINAL_webversion.pdf
- Essential Media Communications. (2012). *Cash in Hand Research*. <http://www.actu.org.au/media/111161/Cash-in-hand%20research-Sept%202012.pdf>
- Ferguson, A. & Toft, K. (2015, August 31). Four Corners: 7-Eleven: *The Price of Convenience*. Australian Broadcasting Corporation. <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2015/08/30/4301164.htm>
- Foundation for Young Australians. (2015). *How Young People are Faring in the Transition from School to Work*. http://unlimitedpotential.fya.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/HYPAF-NCVER-report-9Nov2015_Final-for-web.pdf
- Foundation for Young Australians. (2015). *The New Work Order*. <http://www.fya.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/fya-future-of-work-report-final-lr.pdf>
- Interns Australia (2015). *2015 Annual Survey*. https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/internsaustralia/pages/136/attachments/original/1448771977/Interns_Australia_2015_Annual_Survey.pdf?1448771977
- Lucas, C. & Whyte, S. (2013, January 26). Serving Up Inequality. *The Age*. <http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/serving-up-inequality-20130125-2dbyy.html>
- Meldrum-Hanna, C. & Ali Russell, A. (2015, May 4). Four Corners *Slaving Away*. Australian Broadcasting Corporation. <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2015/05/04/4227055.htm>
- National Union of Workers (2015). *Submission to the Productivity Commission's Workplace Relations Framework* http://www.pc.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/187933/sub0125-workplace-relations.pdf

Osborne, K., Baum, F. & Brown, L. (2013). What works? A review of actions addressing the social and economic determinants of Indigenous health.
<http://www.aihw.gov.au/uploadedFiles/ClosingTheGap/Content/Publications/2013/ctgc-ip07.pdf>

Schneiders, B. & Millar, R. (2015, October 1). 'Black jobs': Rampant exploitation of foreign workers in Australia revealed. *The Age*. <http://www.theage.com.au/national/investigations/black-jobs-rampant-exploitation-of-foreign-workers-in-australia-revealed-20150930-gjxz7q.html>

Shop, Distributive and Allied Employees' Association. (2011). *Submission to the Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia*. <http://www.actu.org.au/media/349598/sda.pdf>

Various (2015). *Have your say on insecure work – Public submissions*.
<https://www.securejobsvic.org.au/en/unions/51>

Woodman, D. (2012). Life out of Synchrony: How New Patterns of Further Education and the Rise of Precarious Employment Are Reshaping Young People's Relationships. *Sociology*, 46(6), 1074-1090.